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THE BUTTERFLY IN HOPI MYTH AND RITUAL

By J. WALTER FEWKES

INTRODUCTION

THE butterfly, moth, and dragonfly, are among the most prominent insects figured on prehistoric Hopi pottery; they are frequently mentioned in the mythology of these people, and their symbols occur constantly on secular and ceremonial paraphernalia. There is a prominent clan in one of the Hopi pueblos called the Butterfly clan which preserves legends of its past history and migrations.

It has been shown in an earlier number of the *American Anthropologist* that there are important modern survivals of a butterfly cult in a nine days' dramatic ceremony called the Owakülti, occurring biennially at Oraibe¹ and occasionally performed at Sichomovi. From the abundance and variety of symbols of this insect depicted on prehistoric objects it would seem that formerly the butterfly played an even greater role than at present in the Hopi ritual.

It is instructive to notice that there has been a radical change in the symbolism of this as well as other life forms, if we compare prehistoric and modern representation of this animal. This change is radical and not one we can ascribe to evolution; the modern symbol is not more realistic than the ancient, nor is it a development from it. Perhaps no figures of animals are better than those of the butterfly to show this change of form, and a comparison of no other series sheds a clearer light on the mythologic and ritualistic life of the Hopi. It has occurred to me that a brief account of the butterfly and its symbolism among the Hopi might aid the student of myths and rituals of other pueblos, especially those of the Keres and Tewa linguistic stocks from which the Hopi sprang. Although

¹ The Oraibe, variant of this ceremony, described by the Rev. H. R. Voth in the publications of the Field Museum of Natural History as the Oakolti, is under the direction of other clans, the Tuwa or Sand predominating.

the following account must necessarily be brief this does not imply that the subject is limited in scope, for the butterfly cult is not only one of the most complicated but also one of the widest spread in the Southwest.

A clear knowledge of paraphernalia and cult objects used in modern pueblo rites is a great aid to archeological work in pueblo ruins, and a familiarity with legendary history is especially helpful in identifying village sites or determining the clans that once inhabited them. Knowing the objects that survive in the cult rites of any clan a student can recognize them when found in prehistoric ruins and thus interpret their meaning. To indicate the significance of the above statement it is my intention to illustrate this connection of prehistoric and historic ideas and their expression, by means of facts drawn from one of the smallest of the Hopi clans, the range of whose migration, since it came to Hopi, is comparatively well known.

MIGRATIONS OF THE BUTTERFLY CLAN

The migration history of the Butterfly clan of the Hopi is clearly connected with that of the Badger people.¹ Neither of these clans now inhabits Walpi, but next to the Asa the combined Butterfly-Badger clan is the most prominent in a small pueblo called Sichomovi situated on the east mesa of the Hopi midway between Hano and Walpi. This compound clan is reported to have been one of the latest arrivals in the Hopi country and according to legends the original home of at least the Butterfly section of it was the eastern pueblo region.

So far as we can now reconstruct Hopi clan history the most ancient pueblos² near the east mesas were all settled, in prehistoric times, by colonists belonging to the Tewa and Keres linguistic stocks, and the original settlers came from the east; later the villages they founded were enlarged by increments from north and south, but there is good reason to believe that even the Snake clans from the north drifted into northern Arizona from the east following down the

¹ The Badger people are said to have introduced the masked Katcina dances among the Hopi and the shrine in which prayer-sticks are deposited at the dance called the Farewell Katcina is called the Badger *sipapu*.

² Walpi was founded by Bear clans; Sikyatki by Kokop; while Awatobi and the villages on Antelope mesa are ascribed to Keres and Tewa colonists.

San Juan river valley from more ancient homes in southwestern Colorado and New Mexico. The modern pueblo culture of northern Arizona is believed to have been derived from the San Juan and Rio Grande regions; although all its components did not come from these localities. The builders of the great compounds in the Gila-Salt valley and its tributaries, in the growth of the Hopi pueblos, contributed a distinct type akin to that of the northern states of Mexico.

The first traces of the presence of the Butterfly clans at Hopi, according to legends, goes back to the ancient settlement, Awatobi, discovered in 1540 by Tobar and flourishing in 1583 when visited by Oñate. While we have no historical statement that members of the Butterfly clan lived in this populous pueblo when first visited by Spaniards it is distinctly stated, in legends, that they were there in 1700 when the pueblo was destroyed by the other Hopi villages. Legends rather vaguely intimate that the Butterfly clans were Tewan in kinship, in corroboration of which it may be said that the name *buli* (*poli*), "butterfly," is a Tewan word and presumably of eastern or Rio Grande origin.

Little is known in a detailed way of the migrations of the Butterfly people before their advent in the Hopi country, and their settlement at Awatobi. From their kinship with the Badgers we may suppose that they had a similar origin.

The Badger (Honani) people are intimately associated with the masked dances called Katcinas and are reported to have come from the Rio Grande region at a comparatively late epoch in Hopi history. We know from legendary accounts that this clan formed a part of the population of Awatobi, at the time of the massacre at that pueblo, and that it had a sacred shrine at Awatobi in the plaza near the old mission east of the ancient town. This shrine, now in the National Museum, was excavated in 1892 and was found to contain prayer sticks which the Hopi workmen identified as belonging to the Katcina cult. The walls of the shrine, like those of the Badger or Katcina shrine at Walpi, were made of upright slabs of stone on which were depicted rain-cloud symbols the colors of which correspond to those of the four cardinal points.

It is perhaps premature to speculate on the kinship of any of the

early colonists that founded Awatobi, but from all that can be gathered I am inclined to the belief that the original settlers were colonists from the eastern region who had migrated hither via Zuñi, Acoma, and other eastern pueblos. It would appear that some of the pueblos near Awatobi on the Antelope mesa were Tewan in origin while others were probably Keresan, as the name, *Kawaika*, indicates. The pottery of Awatobi, *Kawaika*, and some other ruins on the Antelope mesa is closely allied in symbolism to that of old Sikyatki and Shumopavi. The existence of Butterfly and Badger clans in Awatobi at the time of its destruction (1700) points to a Tewan origin which strengthens the belief above stated that Awatobi, like Sikyatki and Walpi, was founded by eastern clans which later drew to their number other clans of eastern and southern origin. When Awatobi was destroyed by the other Hopi pueblos, the legend declares that the men were all in the kivas and were killed by the hostiles; but the women and children were taken to Maski Skeleton House, now indicated by a mound in the plain, and were divided among the participants in the massacre. All those women who refused to go with the captors were killed, but the others, of diverse clans, were distributed among the villages.¹

After the destruction of Awatobi the women of the Butterfly clan who survived the massacre were apportioned among the allied pueblos, the majority of them being taken to Oraibe or its neighborhood.² They are said to be the ancestors of the present Butterfly clan. After remaining at Oraibe some time they left this pueblo, crossed the intervening valleys, and joined a new pueblo founded shortly before, called Sichomovi. In this new pueblo there were people of Zuñi descent, for which reason it was early called the Zuñi pueblo in "Hopi-land."

¹ As the Hopi have the matriarchal clan system these women may be said to have thus introduced their clans into the pueblos of their captors.

² I have often asked the Hopi whether the people at Sikyatki and Awatobi spoke what we now call the Hopi language. One of my best informants said the Awatobi speech was Hopi but with dialectic variations, and it is instructive that a variant of the name Awatobi dates back to 1583. There is a song known to some of the old men of Walpi which is said to have come from Awatobi in which many words are incomprehensible, a fact which may mean much or little as Hopi songs have many archaic words and many Keres words. The names of Tapolo and Sakeva, two chiefs of Awatobi, do not now occur on the East mesa.

The Asa clan that founded Sichomovi is said to be the same as the Zuñi Aiwhokwi but the Hopi claim that its original home was in a Rio Grande pueblo and that it was of Tewa extraction. As the Butterfly and Badger were both from the Rio Grande there was a good reason for the union of the Asa, Badger, and Butterfly clans in the pueblo founded by the Asa. From the sociological point of view we are led to believe that Sichomovi was peopled by Tewa clans and founded by colonists from Zuñi.

The above legends are supported by evidences drawn from ceremonial dances. In January the men of Sichomovi take part in a dramatic rite that celebrates the return of the Katcinas, the personators in which drama represent Zuñi Katcinas and bear Zuñi names; it is universally stated that this is an introduced Zuñi dance, and there are other dances in this pueblo ascribed to the same source. Sichomovi is the only Hopi pueblo that celebrates the Zuñi Shalako, which, although very much worn down and with many episodes omitted, being performed in July instead of in the winter, is still recognizable. These and other evidences might be mentioned in support of the belief that Sichomovi is a pueblo of Zuñi clans now speaking Hopi. We shall presently see that the Butterfly clans have a dance which affords still further evidence of foreign kinship.

The Hopi all assert that the Asa spoke Tewa before they lost their language and that before they migrated to Zuñi they lived in the eastern pueblo region. Old legends mention ruins in which the Asa claim to have lived during their emigration and these ruins are situated in the present Tewa territory. The Butterfly legends also declare their ancestors were Tewa when they went to Zuñi, and that they formerly lived in New Mexico, having later lost the Tewa language and adopted the Hopi speech. The Asa, as elsewhere shown, at one time in their Hopi life went to the Canyon de Chelly in New Mexico where, having intermarried with Navaho, they sojourned a considerable time, at the expiration of which they returned to the East mesa. Before their departure for Canyon de Chelly they inhabited the row of houses north of the Snake kiva near the "Ladder Trail," but after their return they founded Sichomovi where the majority of their descendants still live. There are

other legends of the Butterfly and Honani peoples of similar import, to consider which would take me too far afield at this time.

PREHISTORIC ART ESSENTIALLY SYMBOLIC, NOT REALISTIC

An examination of prehistoric pueblo pottery from Arizona and New Mexico shows that while there are certain symbols common to all ruins there are others peculiar to individual pueblos. The symbols characteristic of each ruin point to the kinship of the former inhabitants of these pueblos and by comparative methods can be made to bear on the study of the prehistoric migrations of clans. It is evident, for instance, that prehistoric symbols form in a way a primitive alphabet and the appearance of the same in widely separated ruins indicates when rightly studied a former contact of the people.

It is necessary as a preliminary to generalizations regarding symbols to differentiate such as are universal in the pueblo area from those which are more local or found only sporadically outside of certain restricted areas. We must likewise have material from each ruin abundant enough to determine the symbols which predominate in that region but are rare or wanting elsewhere. What are the characteristic symbols of individual clans of prehistoric Hopi, and how do they differ from those of ancient Zuñi, considering each of these regions as a culture area? What symbols do the old Tewa in the Rio Grande valley share with the ancient Hopi villages now in ruins, founded by Tewa colonists from them? An adequate answer to these questions involves an intimate knowledge of the symbolism found in characteristic ruins, and comparative studies of these productions with other extra-territorial paleography. It is desirable for comparative purposes to accumulate a considerable body of picture-writing from many regions of the Southwest before any broad generalization can be attempted. It is also necessary in this research to discover whether any characteristic symbols have been originated by or are associated with certain clans, and what knowledge of their significance can be derived from studies of the survivors of those clans still living in modern pueblos.

At the very beginning of studies along the line above suggested it seemed to me evident that the modern symbolism of Walpi or

Zuñi and other pueblos was, like the population, composite, and distinctly different from the ancient. Socially and linguistically most pueblos are conglomerate, derived from many clans originating in distinct localities. It has long been recognized that both modern Hopi and modern Zuñi symbolism are very different from the symbolism of prehistoric ruins near the inhabited pueblos. In other words the symbolism changed¹ after these neighboring ruins in which contributory clans once lived were deserted.

This change is regarded as due not so much to evolution as to the incorporation of new elements by incoming clans and the adoption of new symbols from foreigners. It cannot be strictly true that there is an evolution of modern Hopi from ancient Hopi symbolism, but in the case of the Hopi an entirely new symbolism has been introduced from the Rio Grande. This introduced art, which is Tewan, has driven out of existence the production of ancient Hopi symbolic pottery decoration. The same change has taken place in Zuñi symbolism, as is evident when we compare figures on ancient and modern Zuñi pottery; the latter is closer to that from the Rio Grande than the former which is, like that farther down the Little Colorado, derived from southern Arizona.

When a prehistoric pueblo artist drew a figure of an animal on pottery he gave primary attention to the predominating power which he attached to that animal. He thus endeavored to give an impression of action or pictorially indicate what the animal could do. Representation of action is thus one of the main characteristics of prehistoric Hopi art. The power of flight² of the bird made a strong impression on the ancient Hopi and the wing and feather were adopted as the best possible symbols of flight. Not only every bird but likewise a flying snake or dragon must in this conception have some representation of wings or feathers; even in insects it is impossible to separate this idea of flight symbolized by the feather from the animal depicted.

¹ To show the change in Zuñi symbols of the butterfly compare a picture of this insect figured in my article in the *Putnam Anniversary Volume* and numerous representations on modern Zuñi pottery. The well known pictures of butterflies embroidered on modern Hopi wedding-blankets are closer to modern Zuñi pictures of this insect than to those of ancient Hopi or ancient Zuñi.

² This power was regarded as magical since it was incomprehensible.

Although the Hopi have distinctive names for different kinds of birds and butterflies, figures of the former are distinguished from the latter generally by the possession of feathers. All animals that fly have exerted a marked influence on the religious life of the Hopi and even serpents are endowed with feathers. But conventionalized figures of both birds and butterflies are so made that it is often difficult to decide whether a figure represents a bird or insect, or to distinguish between the form and a moth. The word for one is often used for another, anatomical distinction not being recognized to any extent. Thus the objects on pedestals in front of the Owakülti altar are called birds or butterflies; both are flying beings and, while clans have no distinct names, as individuals each has a distinct name. It is the feather of the bird, its beak and claws, rather than the variation in the bodies that has the distinctive ceremonial importance.

The modern Hopi have two names for the moth and butterfly, of which *hokona* is believed to be the older as it appears in the name of the ancient stone slab that the Antelope priests place on the Antelope altar in the Snake dance. The other name, *buli* or *poli*, is Tewan in origin and is that commonly used. The symbol of the butterfly, as shown in modern figures, is not very different from that found in ancient Zuñi ware. We seldom find the figure of a butterfly on the modern Tewa ware made at Hano which has practically taken the place of the ancient.

Hopi butterfly and bird pictures, as has been pointed out in reports on the excavations at Sikiyatki and in ruins on the Little Colorado, excel all other animal motives on pottery decorations. Previously to my discoveries at these places the existence of the feather motive on prehistoric pueblo ware had not been recognized, and the presence of birds was known only obscurely. It was then recognized that there is a marked tendency to similarities in symbolism representing flying animals as birds and insects. To depict a flying snake with feathers, although far from realistic, would seem within the range of art, and a figure of a butterfly with bird characters was not regarded as a violation of primitive art although it would shock the realistic ideas of a naturalist. Highly conventionalized bird and butterfly symbols are thus often indistinguish-

able and grade into each other so closely that they are extremely difficult to separate. Both of these animals are sometimes represented by triangles, a fact which reveals the danger of relying too strictly on the identification of geometrical figures as animal forms. Although the highly conventionalized bird and butterfly symbols are difficult to distinguish it is self evident that figures with four wings are butterflies and not birds. But both butterfly and dragonfly symbols when highly conventionalized resemble each other, both having four wings. The attempt is made simply to represent a flying animal and a closer identification is difficult, if not impossible.

As the first object of the Hopi in drawing a flying animal was to introduce that part particularly associated with flight as a symbol, so with his pictures of the power of other animals, where he likewise chose symbols of action. Thus the antelope constantly has the heart depicted in symbols for it has "good wind," and proper heart action is associated in the primitive mind with endurance in running. The rattlesnake moves in a zigzag course and strikes to kill, both of which powers appear in the crudest figures of these animals.

It seems a far cry from legends to pictographs but in our Southwest they are intimately associated; here as elsewhere pictographs may serve as valuable verifications of migration legends, serving definitely to identify sites of former habitations and thus to prove the truth of traditions. It can be shown that certain pictures on rocks and pottery open new chapters in our knowledge of ancient rites and ceremonies and their derivation.

There are many localities in the Southwest where we find pictographs of butterflies, moths, and dragonflies. The great collection of Hopi pictographs on cliffs at Willow Spring, not far from Tuba, Arizona, may be mentioned as an indication that members of Hopi clans, whose totems are there recorded, once tarried there, possibly in their clan migrations, or in their visits to the Supai or the salt deposits¹ of the Colorado.

¹In a subsequent article I will mention the places visited by the Hopi in their visits to the "Canyon" for salt, and the ceremonies when they procured this substance.

MODERN HOPI FIGURE OF A BUTTERFLY

The accompanying figure (fig. 60) representing one of many pictures of butterflies made by modern Hopi, was copied from the back of a helmet used at Sichomovi in 1891 in personations of the Duck Katcina; its presence there being thus explained by the painter: "The butterfly is just as fond of the water as the duck." Several characteristic structures will be noted in this picture, one of the

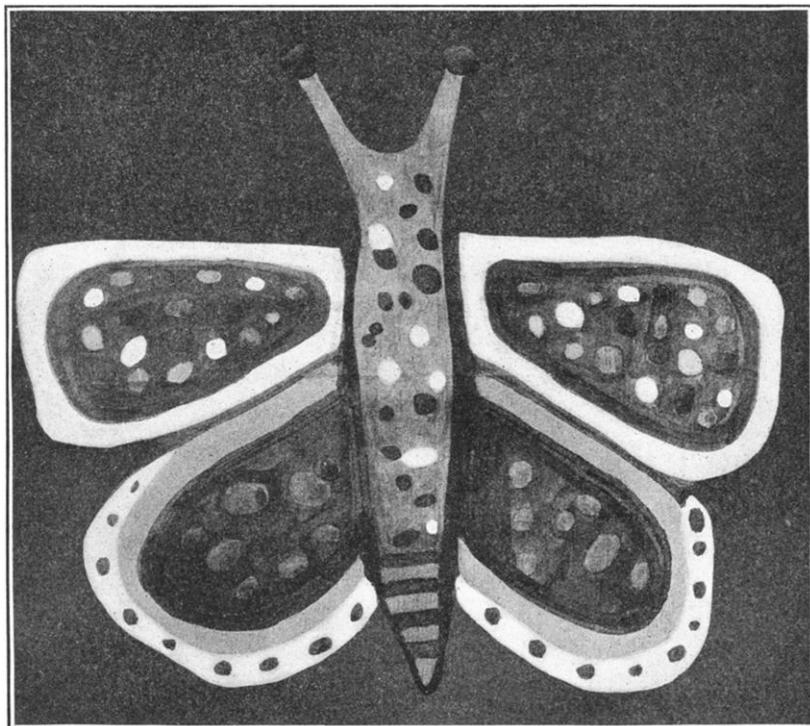


FIG. 60.—Representation of a butterfly copied from the back of a helmet used at Sichomovi in personations of the Duck Katcina.

most constant of which is the two appendages to the head, each terminated by a red circle.

The body of the original picture from which this figure was made is green in color, the end of the abdomen being pointed and crossed by black lines. This body is spotted with white, black, and red

spots, the whole outlined with black. There are four wings spread like those of a moth in repose. The upper wings are white with middle colored red, and dotted with white, green, black, and yellow spots. The two posterior wings have yellow borders, red in the middle dotted with green spots. Along the lower border of the posterior wings are white margins with black dots. The interior of the anterior and posterior wings has a black margin. As this complicated picture of a butterfly or moth was from a helmet mask in a Katcina dance it may be regarded as embodying the modern conception of butterfly symbolism. Many other modern pictures of butterflies are extant but this is a good one for a comparative study of the ancient representations as found in Sikyatki or the ruins on the Little Colorado.

Let us compare this figure with the symbol of a butterfly from a ruin near Awatobi. Some time before his death the late Mr T. V. Keam collected from near this ruin several stone slabs (fig. 61, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*) which the Hopi identified as connected with one of the ancient ceremonies of that pueblo.¹ These slabs were really the boundary walls of the shrine of a basket dance called the Owakülti formerly celebrated at that place.

On one side were painted in color, still visible, pictures of rain clouds, and on the opposite, insects identified by the Hopi as butterflies, although in some cases the figures are closer to dragonflies. In figure 61, *f*, which represents one of these, probably the best, we see the four outstretched wings of triangular shape, one end of the body being pointed and that representing the head being rounded. On one of the smallest of these stone slabs there are figures (fig. 61, *g*) resembling dragonflies, two lobes of the head being shown in the figures.

The beautiful Sikyatki-Awatobi pottery is rich in pictures of moths and butterflies, the most remarkable instance of which is the so-called butterfly vase² from the former ruin. The number, arrangement, and other features of these butterflies lead me to

¹Later these were sold by Mr. Keam to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde. The accompanying rough sketches (fig. 61) are copied from my notebook and were made a short time after they were found.

²See 17th Ann. Rep. Bureau of American Ethnology, part II.

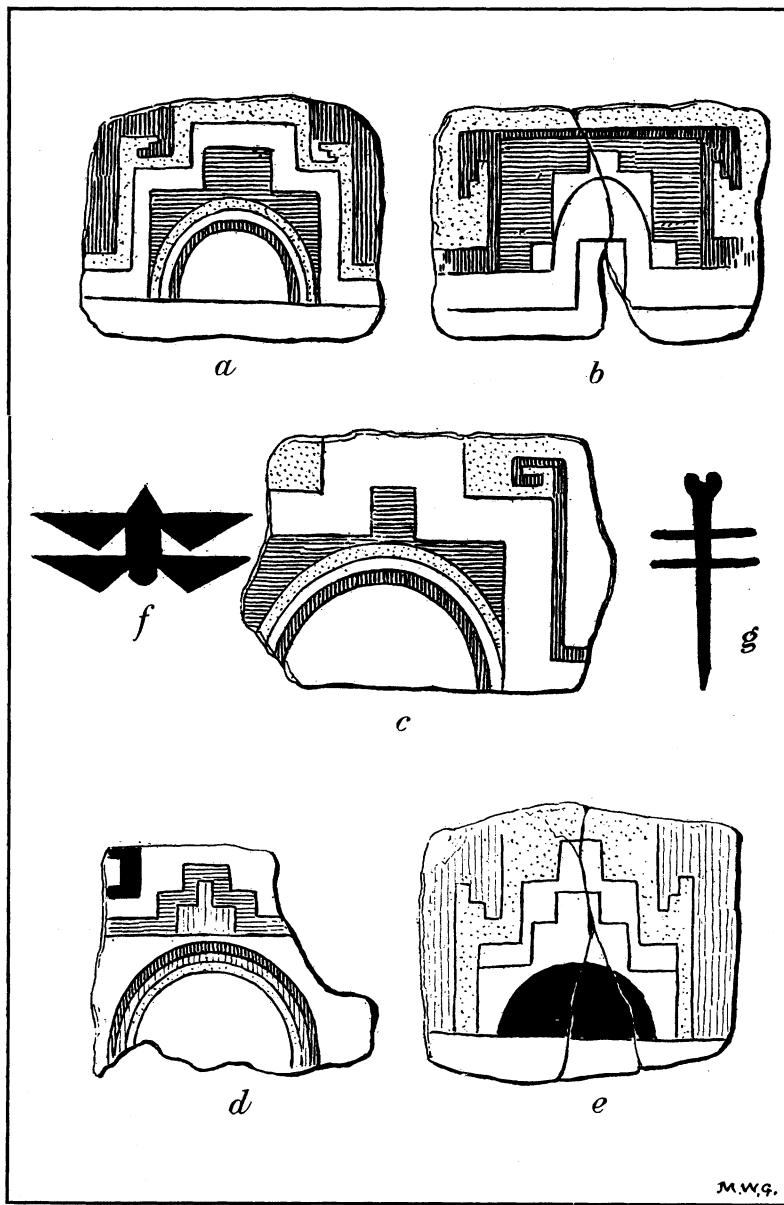


FIG. 61.—Stone slabs with decorations from Awatobi butterfly shrine. *a, b, c, d, e*, The slabs; *f*, Representation of a butterfly; *g*, Figure resembling a dragonfly.

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associate it with religious conceptions concerning this animal that figures conspicuously in Hopi mythology.

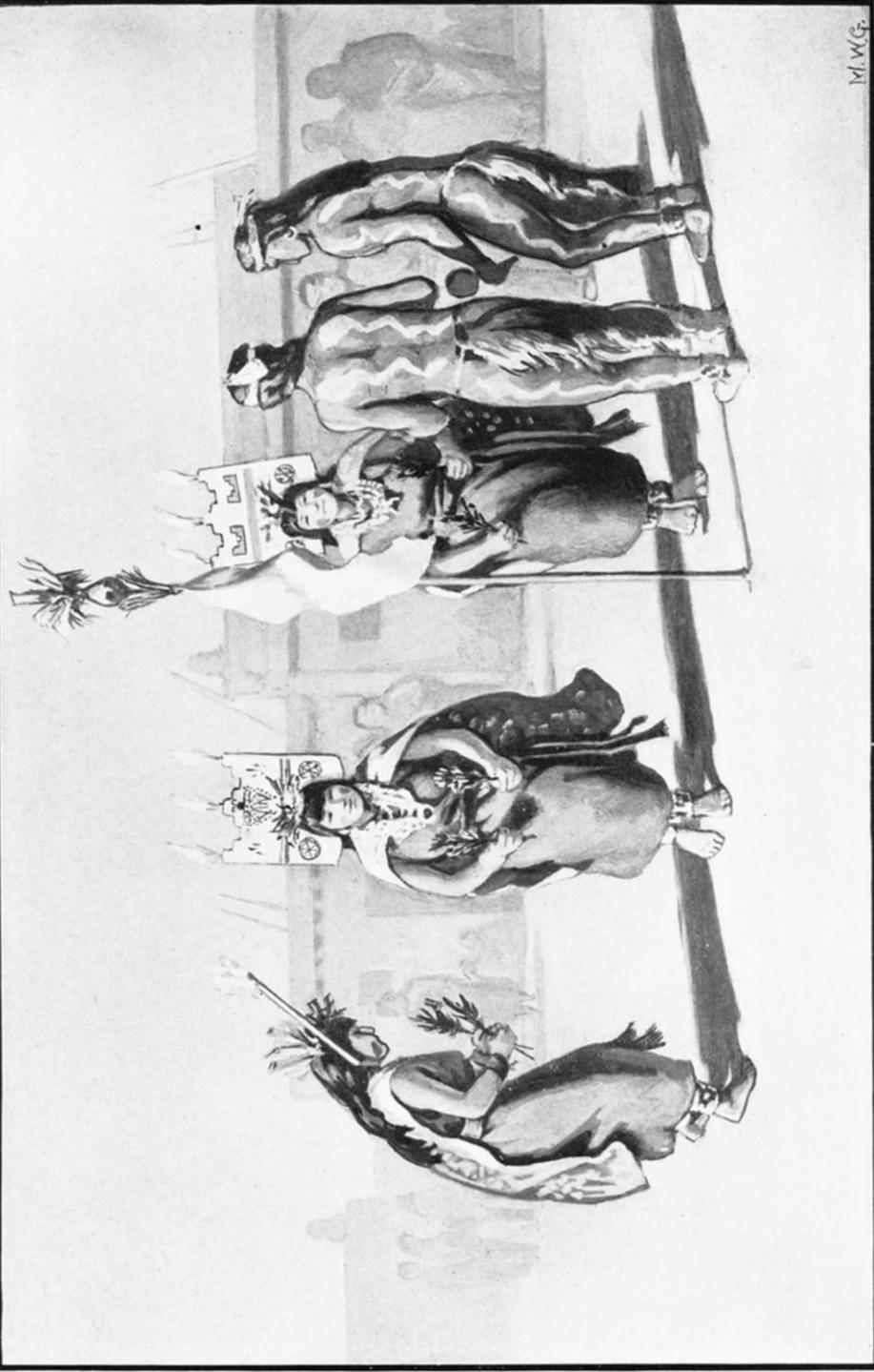
We often find lines on bowls from Sikyatki terminated in circular figures or dots from which extend radiated or parallel lines which have sometimes been interpreted as feathers. These dots are sometimes double and often there are one or more perpendicular lines crossed at right angles to the line on which they lie. These dots, parallel or radical lines, and cross lines, can be interpreted by a design on a fragment of pottery from Sikyatki where occurs a decoration which furnishes a key to their meaning. The figure on this fragment represents a dot and two cross lines at right angles to a line to the end of which is attached an undoubted feather. The dot represents the knot by which a feather is tied to the string and the two cross lines indicate two knots, the whole decoration representing a feather offering called by the Hopi a *nakwakoci*.¹ It is evident that the parallel and radiate lines represent feathers and the enlargement at the end of the string the knot² by which the feather is tied. The figures of feathers with notched ornaments at the end of a club-shaped body so common at Sikyatki are limited to true Hopi ruins or to those showing that influence. They are mainly confined to pottery although occurring in pictography as well as on ancient ceramics.

THE BUTTERFLY DANCE

The so called Butterfly-dance or Bulitikibi of the Hopi is said to have been introduced by the Butterfly clans. So far as known this dance has not been described although repeatedly seen by those visiting several of the Hopi pueblos. It is so closely related to certain tablet dances of the Rio Grande Tewa that it is almost indistinguishable from them. The most important part of the Hopi butterfly dance is the public performance, there being no altars or fetishes and so far as known no important secret rites connected with it. As it is performed in the open plaza it can be seen by all,

¹An offering constantly made and used in Hopi ceremonies as may be seen by consulting detailed accounts of the great Hopi festivals.

²We sometimes, as in the specimen of a food bowl from Sikyatki, find a representation of this dot, string, and attached feather at the corners of a blanket worn by a human figure.



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DANCERS IN THE BUTTERFLY OR HARVEST DANCE AT SICHOMOVI

and to it the Hopi welcome all spectators. Like the Buffalo dance, which I have described elsewhere in the *American Anthropologist*,¹ it may be called an abbreviated dramatic performance, the secret ceremonies having been dropped and lost.

The dance (pl. XLVIII) is performed by men and women appropriately appareled, the latter wearing on their heads tablets the edges of which are cut in terraces to symbolize the rain clouds, their flat surfaces being adorned with butterfly, sunflower, and other symbols. There are other tablet dances at Hopi, the best known of which are the Humis Katcina (Jemes "Cachina"), and the Palahikomana, but the Butterfly tablet-dance is more like the "tablita"² at San Juan and other Rio Grande Tewa pueblos, than either of those mentioned.

I need not enter into an elaborate description of this dance as it is essentially the same as that performed in Rio Grande pueblos described by others. Not only the dance but also the songs and paraphernalia are almost identical.³ In some of the Balintikibi dances the participants have a banner, not shown in the figure, which is made of cloth on which is painted the head and bust of a Hopi girl, an object given to them by Major Williams formerly the Navaho agent. The presence of clowns in the one recall those in the other, although their performances vary from year to year as has been frequently described. This banner is of course not connected in any way with the ancient ceremony. Among the personages who appear in the Butterfly dance at Hopi the so-called clowns are among the most instructive in their clan relations.

The Hopi have at least three types of clowns, those appearing in this dance being distinctly like those of the eastern pueblos. In order to comprehend the bearing of this conclusion let us consider these Hopi clowns and their possible provenance.

Evidences that the Hopi ritual is a ceremonial mosaic of different cults imported from different regions is afforded by the existence of three kinds of clowns who amuse the spectators in the sacred dances. Each of these three types is associated with a distinct

¹ *Am. Anth.*, vol. 4, pp. 506-509.

² This is the dance called the "Hopi Harvest Dance," colored figures of which as performed at Oraibe are printed on postal cards.

³ This is commonly used as a Harvest Dance and is sometimes so called.

group of clans which has been added to the Hopi population from time to time.

The clowns of the Tewa pueblo, Hano, are peculiar to that village. They are distinguished by alternate black and white bands girdling body and limbs and they wear on their heads a cap with two horn-like projections made of skin to which are attached small bunches of corn husks. Although regarded as priests they have no altar or fetishes, their religious function appearing only in the prayer-sticks that they place in certain shrines. These clowns closely resemble those of the Tewa villages on the Rio Grande.

The Tewa clowns or *Paiakyamû* may take part in any Katcina dance but they are confined to the pueblos of the east mesa, especially Hano, where Tewan clans predominate.

Another class of Hopi clowns also of exotic derivation are the Koyimsi¹ which, as the name implies, were derived from Zuñi. Although they may perform in Walpi, their home is in Sichomovi where those clans lived that came from Zuñi.

The order of clowns called the Koyimsi do not paint bands of pigment on their limbs and bodies nor do they, like the Hano clowns, have horns on their heads, but they smear their bodies with earth and wear closely fitted gunnysacks on their heads.

These head coverings have knoblike wens which impart a most ludicrous appearance to the wearers. Their mouths and eyes are made hideous with sausage-like enlargements and they sometimes have similar pendants from above the ears. Their function is not unlike that of the Hano clowns; they amuse spectators during the sacred or Katcina dances. This is an old priesthood, but it has lost that sacred character so marked in the pueblos from which it was derived, and has no altar or fetishes.

The third order of Hopi clowns is limited at the east mesa to Walpi, where it is one of the most important priesthoods, as may be seen by consulting my account of the "New Fire Ceremony," in a previous number of the *Anthropologist*.² This is called the Tat-cüküti or *Tataukyamû* and the members wear no horns nor helmets on their heads but paint phallic emblems on their backs, breasts, and

¹ *Koyeamishi*.

² *Am. Anth.*, vol. 2, n. s., pp. 80-138.

sometimes on their thighs. They decorate their faces with red bands extending from mouth and eyes to the back of the head, and wear cotton-tail rabbit tails in their ears, and necklaces of the same around their necks, symbolic of the Rabbit clan that introduced them into Awatobi from the region of the Little Colorado ruins.

This order of clowns has an altar and *tiponi* or palladium, and many traditional songs, and prayers; their acts indicate a form of phallicism in which the obscene is prominent.

The phallic character of their dance dates back to their life in Awatobi from which ruin was obtained a food bowl now in Berlin, which has the dance of the Tataukyamû painted upon it. I possess a photograph of this bowl which represents a number of these priests, wholly naked, dancing in a circle near which is a figure of a woman and another priest. This figure, so far as known, is the earliest known representation of the Tataukyamû dance and the only surviving picture of an Awatobi dance. The same dance is still performed every November at Walpi, but in a modified form, although phallic emblems and elements are conspicuous in the modern survivals.

The first two orders of clowns introduce in the public dances certain droll plays, often obscene, that they invent to amuse the spectators. These drolleries vary with the inventive power of those men who are chosen to take the parts of clowns, and are not ancient. The following episode occurred in one of the dances and was an impromptu exhibition of the Hopi clowns which may have a historical interest, and certainly illustrates the sense of humor of the Hopi Indians. In 1891 the author was engaged in pioneer work with the phonograph in the preservation of Hopi melodies.¹ The use of this instrument naturally made a strong impression on the Hopi who were at first much astonished but later this feeling gave way to amusement when a graphophone was introduced by the late T. V. Keam.

The value of this instrument for amusement did not escape the clowns, who in one of their performances improvised a phonograph out of an old Sibley stove funnel. Their representation of it is

¹ These melodies were later published in Vol. V of the *Journal of American Ethnology and Archeology*.

shown in a photograph made by Major Williams in 1892 (fig. 62). The bearded person represents the author while the man at the right is one of the clowns. Another clown, hidden under a blanket, responded in a quaking voice to a second performer who from time to time spoke or sang into the funnel, the record being taken down by



FIG. 62.—Burlesque by Hopi clowns of the writer's work with the phonograph.

the bearded Hopi dressed as a white man. The fun thus produced was highly appreciated by the people on the house tops.

CONCLUSION

The outcome of the above studies of the Butterfly cult is that it was introduced by certain Tewan clans which have exerted an influence on the Hopi ritual. We know that many mythological conceptions of ancient date among the Indians can be traced to the Rio Grande region. Take for instance the symbolism of the pottery found in ruins like Sikyatki, Awatobi, or Old Shuomopavi. Here we find figures representing Keres and Tewa mythological

beings. For instance the symbolic conception of the winged-serpent,¹ as it appears in the winter solstice ceremony at Hano, is thoroughly Tewan and quite different from that at Hopi. Images of that being made of clay on the Tewa Hano altar are different from the effigies used at Walpi. The Hano image has a row of feathers along the back, its eyes, necklace, and teeth, being made of kernels of corn. This horned effigy differs considerably in symbolism from the horned plumed serpent of the southern Hopi clans called Balulukon which is dominant at Walpi. If, however, we compare the Hano clay idol of the feathered horned serpent with the picture on a prehistoric food bowl found at Sikyatki we discover the same row of feathers along the back in both instances. In other words the representation of the Tewa plumed serpent is closer to that of Sikyatki than to that of Walpi, for the latter came from southern Arizona and northern Chihuahua while the Hano was derived directly from the eastern pueblos. This does not necessarily mean that the Hano people came from the same pueblo as the Kokop, but from the same culture area. The Sikyatki people were from Jemez, the Hano from Tcewadi, a ruin on the Rio Grande the site of which is known.

It is interesting in this connection to note that a head similar to the Sikyatki picture of the Plumed Serpent has been found by me at Awatobi showing that the Awatobian had a conception of this mythological being like that of the Sikyatki people. It is anticipated that when the pictures of the Rio Grande plumed serpents have been thoroughly studied they will support the legend that the Sikyatki and Awatobi people came from that region.

It is pointed out in the preceding pages that there still survives a butterfly cult in the Hopi pueblo, Sichomovi, and that it was brought there from the eastern pueblo region, via Zuñi, where for aught I know it still exists. But the cult came originally from the Rio Grande valley and is of Tewa extraction. Facts are presented as evidence supporting the claim that this element of culture is more modern at Hopi than that of the eastern pueblo region. Evidences have been advanced in former publications that considerable additions have been made to the Hopi sociology, linguistics,

¹ Some of the Hano have also a Balülikon effigy.

mythologies, and rites by colonists from the Gila and Salt river valleys, the people that in prehistoric times built the large compounds¹ in southern Arizona. These facts all look one way, viz:—the Hopi pueblos as such are comparatively modern in their present settlements. It is evident, as a corollary to the belief that the Hopi culture is more modern than the cultures of the Rio Grande and Gila valleys, that the Hopi language has arisen in comparatively recent times being younger than Keresan, Tewan, or Piman.

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

¹ Provided of course that the "ancients" who peopled compounds like Casa Grande on the Gila spoke the Pima language or some dialect of the same stock.